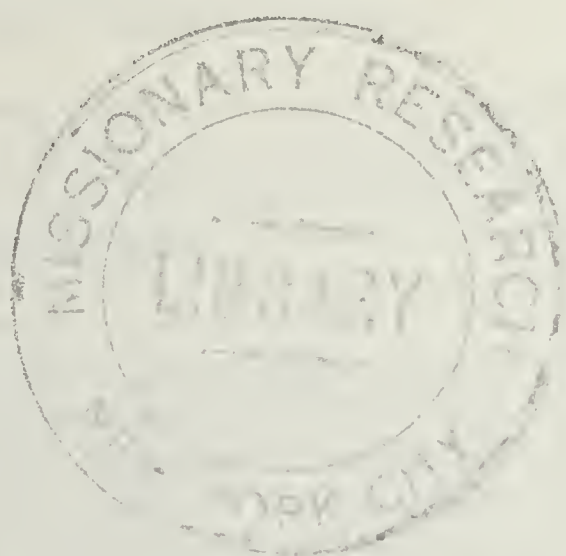


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The Real Ruler of Morocco



by Marjorie Rodes

FOREWORD

I went to Morocco first in 1945 to join my husband, then a U. S. Army officer assigned there. He later established an independent export-import business in Casablanca. We have spent a good deal of time there ever since and have travelled extensively throughout North Africa. We have known Moroccans on every level – Arab and Berber, leader and laborer, in the cities and in some of the remote areas of mountains and plains – and have, of course, known many French officials and settlers in the country. It has given us a chance to understand the clash of interests between the "Protectors" and the people of Morocco which has led, finally, to the present conditions of chaos.

We were in Casablanca during the December 1952 violence, a half-way mark in the action which culminated in dethronement of the Sultan in August 1953, and during developments which followed. I am happy to have an opportunity to give to other Americans my impressions of events which led to the present disorders and unrest in Morocco – and of what I believe to be one inescapable factor in any return to peace.

Marjorie Rodes

THE REAL RULER OF MOROCCO

The Exiled Sultan has become the
Symbol of his People's Struggle for Freedom

Secluded within the great walled gardens and courts of the palace at Rabat, capital of French Zone of Morocco, a puppet ruler sits on an uneasy and unwanted throne, in constant fear of assassins whom he has narrowly escaped on several occasions. He frankly doesn't like his job. He no longer goes to the mosque to pray, no longer leaves the palace – even in his armored car, which replaced the white stallion on which the “real” Sultan used to ride between crowds of his subjects, gathered along the route to pay him homage. The devout people of Morocco, their deepest religious convictions affronted by the placing of a man they call “traitor” to be their spiritual chief, refuse to go to the mosques, to make pilgrimages to Mecca, to observe the holy days. They refuse to live as good Moroccans and Moslems until their rightful and lawful sovereign is returned to them from exile – H. M. Mohammed Ben Youssef, spiritual and temporal ruler under Moslem law and tradition essentially unchanged from the time of the Caliphs of Cordova.

The Sultan, Ben Youssef, was spirited away by his French “protectors” because he tried, by every means at his command, to prevent them from transforming their protectorate into a colony and his people into French vassals. In his speech from the Throne in 1951 he told his people:

“Since God has called Us to this great task, We have given our solemn promise to strive without respite or discouragement until such time as We shall have restored our Country to its rightful place among the nations – a place in keeping with its glorious past and historical importance and with its vital strategic position arising from its special geographical situation.”

He has lived up to that promise, which has demanded of him more and more of courage and sacrifice. Quite naturally he took with him into exile a loyalty and devotion undimished, even fortified by his cavalier treatment. Deep rooted in both the religious faith and political tradition of the people, this loyalty has superseded all usual sense of values, accepting any sacrifice and yielding neither to brute force nor, thus far, to compromise. The spirit of Ben Youssef is the controlling force in Morocco today. Confined on the island of Madagascar, he has become the personification of Moroccan hopes. His presence

is felt in his turbulent country as a rallying point, his banner is a symbol of the national urge toward "human rights and fundamental freedoms" – which we Americans continually expound and which French troops and guns, arrests and executions are failing to extinguish.

The present open revolt against French rule in Morocco was an inevitable result of deposing the Sultan. Already there had been repressive measures which bit by bit, relentlessly, deprived Moroccans of every normal form of self expression and self defense. The betrayal of a monarch whose sovereignty and independence were guaranteed by France and the United States and most of the important European powers, defender of his people and "Commander of Believers," struck at the very core of their faith, the source of their hope. It was the final, unbearable assault against them and it released forces of desperation, armed with the courage of desperation. It set in motion the lawlessness and bloodshed, the strikes and the boycotts of French products, which have brought economic paralysis and chaos to Morocco. Ruthless methods of control have fanned rather than put down the flames of rebellion. The ill advised decision to remove the Sultan as a matter of simple expediency, without legal or moral justification, has created a major problem for France. That it would do exactly this was evident to anyone willing, without prejudice, to review the facts as they developed for several years before the event.

Demonstrations of Loyalty:

It was a November day in 1952 and we were driving from Casablanca to Rabat, to visit friends there during the celebration of the "Fete du Trone." It was an important anniversary that year, the 25th, of the accession of H. M. Mohammed Ben Youssef to the throne of Morocco. Already the machinations which led to his removal were well under way, moving rapidly to their final consummation ten months later. Within a matter of weeks thereafter, Edmund Stevens was to write in the "Christian Science Monitor": "The fight between the French and the Sultan of Morocco stems directly from attempts by the French to extend their power at the Sultan's expense. * * * * * More and more French authorities have tended to move in on functions previously exercised by the Sherifian Government * * * * * In the face of this encirclement, the Sultan has resorted to his one effective weapon to block French plans. In the past 10 months he has refused to affix his signature to a single dahir (decree) * * * * *"

"His one effective weapon" – there remained still with the Sultan this one way in which he could block the French program by which the ancient Moroccan Empire, after its more than a thousand years of independence, was to become a colony of France. The formality of requiring the Sultan's signature on French decrees had always been meticulously observed. Now he refused to sign away what remained of sovereignty and freedom. So the situation was tense in Morocco on that November day in 1952. Feeling was high. Far and wide the people paid homage to their Sultan and where we saw the celebrants we sensed no reluctance whatever nor fear among them to show where they stood in the dispute between Protectorate authorities and Sultan. We passed sedentary communities of thatched dwellings and agglomerations of nomads' tents, gay with Moroccan flags, women bedecked in bright colors and ornaments, open fires where feasts were being prepared. We stopped to watch a festival or "fantasia," to see several galloping horsemen race past admiring, laughing, cheering ranks of men, women and children.

In Rabat, the capital, the tension of the moment was more marked, the reaction of the people more evident and convincing. The following day the Sultan delivered the Speech from the Throne and held his vast reception in the palace gardens. The men in our party who attended reported the presence of Moroccan dignitaries from every part of the country, the ovations to His Majesty – and that French officials were there in force to see and hear and perhaps, to give thought to the implications of the demonstration which took place there. To all of us who were in Morocco during those final months before disaster was launched in the name of expediency, and who knew and talked with Moroccans from highest to lowest rank, this was a people oppressed, deprived of human freedoms, but by no means broken in spirit nor faltering in faith. The spirit of the Moroccan people and of the sovereign to whom they have given their lasting loyalties seem to me to be well expressed in a speech made on their behalf at the United Nations 1953 session by Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan; Himself a devout Moslem, he was expressing the Moslem faith when he said:

"Before the final meeting of the Assembly I spent a long time praying. I went on praying throughout my last speech. * * * * * I did not pray for victory in our political fight, for we have no right to beg God for such victories. Nevertheless * * * * * I am not cast down. I do not lose faith. How could I, so long as I believe in God and therefore in truth and justice? Some of the

delegates are cringing to France, others to the Russians, others to the Americans. I will cringe to no one. Only to God. That's why I shall never lose hope that the Morocco case, which has truth and justice on its side, will triumph in the end."

The Last Speech from the Throne:

It was when the text of the Speech from the Throne appeared in the evening papers on the 18 November, 1952, that all talk of a *coup de force* already in the making to remove the Sultan began to appear to me and to some others who were there in Rabat to be sheer madness. Could one expect casually and peaceably to depose and banish a ruler whose sovereignty one was committed to protect, whose people showed him an open, almost fierce devotion, and whose spoken words confirmed his belief in and dedication to principles of law and justice and the development of democratic institutions as essential to the progress and well being of his country. The following are excerpts from his speech made on the final anniversary of his succession before his exile:

*"Twenty-five years have passed since We came to the throne
* * * * * We have never ceased to devote all Our efforts and to
consecrate all Our activities to the general interest * * * * * We
have not retreated before any obstacle * * * * * We have em-
ployed all means at Our disposition to dispose of difficulties as
promptly as possible. * * * * **

*"Our people have not failed to appreciate Our efforts at their
just worth and to sustain Us in Our task: it is sufficient to cite
as proof the demonstrations of attachment, of loyalty to our
Person and our Dynasty, the spontaneous enthusiasm of the
crowds, the feasts and celebrations organized on this occasion
of the fete du Trone and in other similar circumstances. The
numerous delegations who present themselves at the Imperial
Palace, coming in spite of the effort and hardship from the
farthest points of the Empire, confirm the sentiment of union
and solidarity which our people display toward their
sovereign. * * * * **

*"No one can ignore the fact that we are living in an age of
equality and democracy. Representative government is today
regarded as the characteristic sign of the maturity of nations
and their crowning achievement. We wish to organize the country*

*on the basis of a constitutional monarchy. Our devotion to this principle is the greater in that it is sanctioned, or rather ordained, by Islam. * * * * * The fact is that Islam has preached democracy, justice and equality and has applied those principles to perfection in the days of its greatness. * * * * **

"Our desire to liberate Moroccan sovereignty and to enable our people to administer their own affairs is by no means incompatible with Franco-Moroccan friendship, especially as we and our people have given proof of this friendship by ranging ourselves on the side of the French people in moments of stress when they needed friends, and have shown by our declarations and our memoranda that we want to safeguard French interests and cooperate with France in cultural, economic and international matters."

"In social affairs, we have always said that it is necessary to take an interest in the fate of the workers, who deserve sympathy and consideration, without distinction as to whether they are employed in commerce, industry or agriculture. It is indeed to the working class that we owe all the modern achievements that are to be observed today. It is therefore just to allow the workers to defend their interests by giving them the right to found trade unions, with complete freedom of association. Thus it will be possible for the workers to live a life compatible with human dignity, freed from the nightmare of ignorance, fear and poverty."

Looking towards a Modern Morocco:

Ironically enough, this strong man of Morocco who carries the torch for his people today towards "democracy, justice and equality" and for his country "its rightful place among nations," was chosen by the French to succeed his father, appointed actually because of French pressure on the "Council of Oulemas" by whom the succession is determined under Moslem law. He was a younger son, still in his teens then, who might not have succeeded except for the belief of the French overlords that he was potentially weak and amenable to their wishes.

Instead, being studious, intelligent and patriotic, he became acutely aware of the needs of his people and determined to lead them into the ways to progress and freedom to take the place which he believed they should hold in the modern world. His views of Morocco as an independent, democratic nation, have developed during the quarter

century since he came to the throne, to become a single, consuming purpose. His pursuit of this purpose, with all the patience and faith characteristic of many leaders among the peoples of Islam, have finally brought him to his present position of prestige. His exile has compounded it with an almost legendary significance which is thwarting the French, in their plan to reduce Morocco to colonial status. To return him to the throne, they say, is out of the question. To hold him in exile under present conditions – well, perhaps that also is impossible.

In seeking to apply democratic principles to the life and institutions of Morocco, the Sultan has repeatedly emphasized their conformity with the political principles of Islam, as applied in the days of its greatness. He denies that democratic institutions are resisted in Moslem countries. His two sons and four daughters have been raised in accordance with basic concepts both of the Moslem faith and of modern life. They have attended European schools, dress as Europeans, participate in many of the normal activities of modern youth in the western world. His elder son, Prince Moulay Hassan, now 25, holds a law degree and had almost completed work for his doctorate when exile interrupted his studies. His wife still lives in seclusion but he is one of the present day leaders who want what they call the "purer form" of Islamic practice which admits the rights of women, religious tolerance and democracy. His older daughter was often seen in Rabat at the wheel of one of the royal cars, including that of her own particular jeep!

To be sure, these modernist tendencies of the Sultan have been made much of by his few detractors – French-inspired and French-subsidized – among the Moroccan population. During the artificial "revolt" and theatrical events which were arranged as a suitable background for his overthrow, he was called unfit as a religious leader because his daughter went unveiled and drove a jeep. Devout Moslems have pointed out the hypocrisy of this observation, made by some whose wine cellars are stocked with the best wines of France, in flagrant violation of basic Moslem law.

Recognition of Sultan's Influence:

Charles Andre Julien, Professor of Colonial History, at the Sorbonne and Counsellor of the French Union, writing for our "Foreign Affairs," April 1951, described Ben Youssef as "an intelligent and able man about 40 years of age, who makes the best use he can of the limited

powers left to him by the Protectorate by refusing to sign the *dabirs* – decrees having the force of law” which “without his signature are valueless.” Professor Julian goes on to say that “although the Sultan refrains from demonstrations, it is known that his sympathies and those of his son, Moulay Hassan, spokesman for the youth of the country, are with the nationalists group * * * * * which demands the freedom and unity of Morocco as ‘a constitutional and democratic monarchy guaranteeing democratic and individual liberties, notably freedom of religious belief’.” He refers to the Sultan’s “great prestige and the religious character of his office,” states that “the Moslems of the world feel a solidarity with the threatened Sultan.” He warns that “France, the Christian Power whose territory contains the largest number of Moslems, has nothing to gain from such a state of affairs” and that “the North African theatre * * * * * will not be made secure by repressive measure against nationalist agitation there.”

Claude Bourdet, noted French editor of *L'Observateur*, writing for the Aug. 29, 1953 issue of *The New Statesman and Nation*, London, just after the Sultan was deposed, said that General Alphonse Juin while he was Resident General in Morocco “considered his one task was to fight the Sultan, believing the Sultan was the main obstacle to complete domination by the settlers in North Africa.” M. Bourdet in his article describes the steadfast opposition by the Sultan with the support of his people, to the self-seeking plans of this “clique of powerful French settlers” and their “intensely active ‘lobby’, American style, in Paris.” He describes the elaborate plot which “compares in technique with the best Eastern European examples, in Hitler’s time and now,” by which “mercenary militias enjoying full protection by the administration” were finally brought in to surround the capital. It was only then, with the people in danger and approaching panic with their leaders and potential leaders in jail, that the Sultan was forced to yield.

Years of Struggle:

It was in Tangier in 1947 that the Sultan first spoke publicly, and to the world, of his country’s aspirations. “Morocco took an active part in the last war,” he said, “offering her sons and her resources until final victory was achieved.” Therefore, he continued, “it is just that the Moroccan people obtain their lawful rights and realize their legitimate aspirations, which are the same for all peoples.” Many of those who heard or read the Sultan’s words of vision and hope were startled, that he should express or even hold such thoughts. The world

became aware that Mohammed Ben Youssef was not the captive of the French Residency that they had believed him, but a man of independent ideas, with the courage of his convictions, ready to sacrifice himself in the interests of his people. Certainly this was not the way the French Administration expected him to act. They promptly removed the 'soft' Resident General, Erik Labonne, who had permitted the display of independence, and replaced him with the tough-minded, colonial-born General Alphonse Juin, who had removed the Bey of Tunis.

Repulsed by the French in every move to improve the lot of his people, Ben Youssef did what he could to encourage the building of schools and hospitals, the establishment of trade unions and reforms of the judicial system. Admitting the impressive development of the country under French Administration, he realized that the benefits were largely for French colonists and not for the Moroccan people. At a French congress of lawyers in 1949 the French jurist, Neigel, described the regime in Morocco as one of "complete disregard for individual liberty." He said "the Moroccan subject can be imprisoned at anybody's pleasure. The judges do not administer the law, they condemn." Much has been written concerning exploitation of labor, suppression of basic human freedoms and other abuses by the Protectorate authorities. All this the Sultan consistently fought.

A milestone in the Sultan's struggle was his visit to Paris in 1950, where he was received with much outward show of friendship and respect. Believing that the Protectorate was encroaching further and further on Morocco's age old status as a sovereign nation and was impeding all genuine reform, he journeyed to France "in order to submit to the Government of the French Republic two memoranda in which we gave the reasons for changing the Protectorate system and establishing Franco-Moroccan relations on the basis of a new agreement that would enable the people to realize their aspirations and would safeguard the sovereignty of Morocco and the interests of France." France refused even to enter into negotiations with the Sultan, instead proposed specious "reforms," to which he refused to agree. This situation continued with increasing friction until the final debacle in the summer of 1953 which, as the French have begun to realize, advanced the Sultan from a strong and steadfast leader to an almost legendary figure of sacrifice, and wisdom, and unprecedented power over the minds and hearts of his people.

Facts versus Fiction:

The French "official" story of the Sultan's deposition has simply not "gone over" either at home or abroad. It demanded too much blind credence from too many who had been eye witnesses of events as they happened. There had been a growing popular movement against the Sultan, so said the official spokesmen undertaking to delude the public. He had refused to treat with France to obtain "democratic" reforms because he wanted absolute power, both spiritual and temporal. Pashas and caids demanded his removal. The French (so the story went), bound by their obligations to protect the Sultan's sovereignty, would not countenance such a plan, acted as mediator between hostile elements, tried to persuade the Sultan to sign the disputed "reforms" to quiet the populace. It should be noted in passing that one of these democratic proposals was to give the several hundred thousand French colonists, legally aliens, the franchise – on a fifty-fifty basis, no less, with the nine million Moroccans.

The real facts are history now, exposed in detail from well-informed sources. In the forefront of those who have decried these facts, as might be expected, are many patriotic Frenchmen who have been shocked and disturbed by the role their country played.

Robert Schuman, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, writing for "Le Nef," Paris, issue of March, 1953, only a few months before the Sultan was deposed, said in part:

"If we do not want the gap between the French and the colonial peoples to widen beyond hope of repair, a sincere organization, founded on the basis of hope and mutual trust, must be established between all elements of the population and all interests must be taken into consideration. If we want the youth to come together with us to construct a new political and social edifice, without demagoguery, and considering the traditions of liberty and human dignity, * * * * * we French should by faithfulness to our own traditions, rid ourselves of our prejudices and resentments, and propose an overall program comprising the necessary steps. * * * * * Our worst enemy, here or elsewhere, is the habit which knows only trust of the past and closes its eyes to the exigencies of the future."

M. Schuman's warning was in vain. When the final high handed act against the Moroccans and their Sultan was committed five months

later he said:

“The Deposition of the Sultan was a serious step, carrying with it both internal and international consequences, which cannot as yet be measured.”

Edgar Faure, French Minister of Finance, writing for the same publication, same issue, was critical of certain commentators who predicted that the Sultan's deposition would be brought about – “not by the French but by the Moroccans themselves.” He says: “This, evidently, is a subterfuge. It is certain that a change of dynasty or of person, which would take place with our permission, or, as it is said, under our ‘arbitration,’ would be, in fact, our work and our deed.”

Francois Mitterand, Minister of State in the Laniel Cabinet, resigned from the Cabinet soon after the banishment of the Sultan, in protest against French North African policy. He said: “Common sense required that France answer the hopes of the Moroccan people, regarding both their political and labor rights and their social welfare.”

Much French and world opinion were summed up by M. Robert Barrat, a prominent French lay Catholic who was in Morocco at the time of the overthrow:

“The last natural stronghold of his people, the Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef has been the victim of the insatiable appetite of a coalition of colonists and swindlers. The *coup de force* is a real crime against a disarmed and defenseless people, a people who have always believed in our word, in our loyalty, and whom we have just plunged into an abyss of despair.”

The Sultan is Quoted:

In an interview with Mr. David Schoenbrun of C.B.S.-T.V. that same year, 1952, His Majesty was questioned on a number of issues wherein his convictions, and attitudes, would have important bearing on what might be expected of a progressively independent Morocco. I have looked in vain to find any justification for the dire predictions I have heard or read. Some of these latter convince me less of the need for increased French force of arms in Morocco, than of that for less French propaganda in the United States. For the voice of the lawful Sultan is the voice of all the nationalists and patriots who have shown themselves ready to sacrifice life and liberty to regain his leadership, and

always it speaks in tones of moderation and friendship. Following are several direct quotations from the interview:

On Relations with the West:

"It is evident that Morocco is a western country geographically and strategically. But by its religion, its culture, and its traditions, it is attached to the East. We hope that this privileged situation will permit us to be the link that binds East to West."

"Our relations with America will be what they have always been, friendly and based on mutual interests. And may I remind you that Morocco was the first nation in the world to recognize the American Republic?"

"The foreign policy of an independent Morocco would be based on collaboration with all freedom-loving and peace-loving countries."

"Morocco would not be the only independent country needing outside technical assistance and aid. In this domain we will gladly accept the help of all modern nations and, primarily, that of Frenchmen who have already made so great a material contribution to my country."

On Communism:

"The doctrine of communism is in its essence in total contradiction with the principles of Islam and our national traditions."

"Being a Moroccan, Moslem and monarchist party, we believe that Istiqlal cannot form a united front with communism without thwarting its own principles." ("Istiqlal" — Independence Party)

On Constitutional Government:

"We had declared in our speech from the throne in 1950 that the best regime under which a country may enjoy its complete sovereignty and self-government is the democratic system of our contemporary world. This system is not in contradiction with the principles of Islam. We still hold this belief. Morocco had always lived under a monarchist regime and we think that a constitutional monarchy would allow the Moroccans to participate fruitfully in

the political life of their country and would fulfill the aspirations of our subjects."

"In independent Morocco we would have universal suffrage because it is an equitable system on one hand and a true reflexion of public opinion on the other."

The Sultan and the Moroccan Jews:

The position of Jews in Morocco has been a subject of such frequent – and misleading – comment by the U. S. press that the Sultan's own attitude toward them, the measures he has taken to protect them, should be made clear. One of his first independent acts as he matured to become in fact, as well as name, the leader of the Moroccan people, was his refusal to sign Nazi-inspired decrees against the Jews among them. He contended that Jews no less than Moslems were his loyal subjects. He would not consent to discrimination against any part of his people and he held this ground despite considerable pressure put upon him by the French Vichy authorities. In 1952 the matter of Moroccan Jews was mentioned in the Speech from the Throne which is quoted above. Speaking of the courts he said that "Justice is the foundation of all civilization" and he stressed the responsibility to "apply scrupulously the principles of equity and integrity (probite)." He said finally that "Our subjects both Musulman and Israelite must be assured of the guarantee that their persons and their goods, whether they are rich or poor, powerful or feeble will be equal before the law." Again, in 1952, in the interview quoted above with Mr. David Schoenbrun, this matter came up. Declaring that "there are spiritual, cultural and ethnic ties which unite Morocco with nations of the Arab world" the Sultan said: "Nevertheless, it should not be ignored that our Jewish subjects enjoy full rights as citizens of Morocco. They have always had complete freedom of worship. Moreover, the central government has always taken good care of them even under exceptional conditions." Having spent a number of years in Morocco I know that these are not idle words. They express a policy which I have seen in force and conditions of well being among the Jewish population, many of whom have been "Moroccans" since the 7th century. Most of the others are descended from Jews who prospered with the Moors in Spain and migrated to North Africa when Christian rulers took over and expelled them.

The Sultan and the American Bases in Morocco:

In all the analysis and explanation of the Moroccan problem in relation to ourselves which is delivered to the American public, one concept appears to be the most emphasized, the most alarming and the most utterly without any discoverable foundation in fact. I refer to the prevalent belief that our multi-million dollar air bases and naval base in Morocco were acquired in a gracious gesture of French co-operation behind the back of an unfriendly Sultan who would have liked to keep us out; that Moroccan nationalists want more than anything to destroy the bases and send our investment – and ourselves for that matter – down the drain; that France wants to protect all three; that we must consequently give our moral and material support to French Moroccan policy which includes force of arms against the unmeasurable forces which are rampant in Morocco.

I have never seen any documentation or heard any argument in support of these views. They are just there, accepted as an hypothesis from which all discussion should take off. A Congressman recently touring North Africa told a New York Times correspondent "It would take a battallion to protect these bases with the French in charge but it would take four or five divisions to protect them with the French out." Why would it? And who is expecting the French to be "out" any time soon anyway? Certainly not the Sultan or his people. He still wants technical assistance and aid from Frenchmen, "who have already made so great a material contribution to my country." He is confident that "the realization of our people's aspirations cannot but strengthen this Franco-Moroccan friendship." He would like to start on the road to such realization and such friendship.

As for protecting the bases, the Moroccans like the French are well aware that the bases protect Morocco. It may be argued that they could turn them against us but on the other hand, to quote "U.S. News and World Report" of May 28, 1954, "there is danger that France itself may turn 'neutralist' * * * * * and seek to steer a 'middle way' between the U. S. and Soviet Russia. In this event the French themselves might order U. S. out of bases to which the French hold title." "The French hold title" is an understatement. They hold everything so far as the bases are concerned, from general jurisdiction and security control to the right to fly their national flag over the bases. They limit the number of our military personnel who are assigned to the bases to 7,400 men, which we reportedly say is not enough but can do nothing about, and they limit the number of military planes

we can operate out of the bases. Pointing this all up are rumors that everyone has pretty much forgotten we had anything to do with building the bases. So far we are permitted to use them, but quoting "U.S. News and World Report" again, September issue, Pentagon officials are privately admitting we will be lucky to hang on another two years before the French order us out altogether.

I am reasonably sure that Sultan Ben Youssef, who was on the throne at the time, would have made a more liberal deal with us if he had the opportunity, and if he happens to get back to having some voice in such decisions I expect we can use the bases for a good deal more than two years – without the assistance of four or five divisions. There was an unbroken record of friendship between the U.S.A. and Morocco going back to the earliest days of our history, when Morocco was one of the first nations to recognize and befriend our young republic. In the past few years we have not lived up to either the moral or the formal treaty obligations which sprang from this friendship. We have made an irony of George Washington's letter to the Sultan of Morocco in 1789, in which he thanked him for "the punctuality with which you have caused the treaty with us to be observed." But the Moroccan attitude so far, where I have encountered it, has appeared to be one of disillusionment with Americans rather than the deep rancor which we seem to be doing everything to create.

When we moved in with a formidable array of men and material to build our military installations, we by-passed completely the Moroccan sovereign whom we recognized and to whom our diplomats were accredited. We didn't even mention the matter to him. And yet I have never heard that he protested this affront. The only expression of his reaction ever repeated to me was in a story about the U. S. Airforces officers who asked the Sultan if he would like to "fly over the bases." The Sultan reportedly declined the invitation, his only comment being a detached "What bases?"

France can no longer refuse to recognize a situation which is becoming more and more clearly defined. There is an unprecedented movement among the Moroccans, unified and fortified by deep religious conviction, which demands the return of the lawful Sultan as the sine qui non of peace. In the Spanish Zone of the Sultan's Empire the people have never recognized the French puppet ruler, Ben Arafa. They still pray in the name of their Sultan, sovereign of Morocco and Representative of Allah, Ben Youssef. His Viceroy in the Spanish Zone has full acclaim of the people and support of the Spanish Gov-

ernment. Spain's High Commissioner stated on January 23, 1953:

"The French authorities know that Morocco has been wronged and that their actions have been unfortunate. Their own press has borne witness to this fact. The world is not too near the truth of the Moroccan problem."

Retention by France of the impostor on the throne of Morocco not only violates the "sovereignty and independence" of the Sultan, guaranteed by the Treaty of Algeciras. It divides his Empire, in violation of "the integrity of his domains," which all signatories of the same treaty are committed to uphold.

French colonial interests are calling for more "toughness," more ruthless repression. Other elements in Paris propose "negotiations" – but to negotiate with anyone other than the lawful Sultan would be a sham. In this situation France wants the Sultan to abdicate in favor of an "acceptable" successor. This would mean one with less astuteness and courage, less popular support and international prestige. Neither the Sultan nor his people are inclined to accede. But the proposal is an admission of his legitimate status.

In deposing the Sultan France made her decision to abandon legitimacy in favor of force. The decision was taken by those who had faith in military superiority alone, in defiance of those who recognized the human factors. With a fervor which replaces lack of military arms, the "feeble" forces of the opposition are proving effective.

The Moroccans maintain with indisputable logic that the only solution is to return to legitimacy, that until France finds the courage to do this, or other signatories of the Act of Algeciras decide to honor their obligations, no improvement in Morocco is possible.

(5) Morocco Embassy (J)

To the Emperor of Morocco,
His Majesty Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah

City of New York, December 1, 1789

Great and Magnanimous Friend:

Since the date of the letter which the late Congress, by their president, addressed to your Imperial Majesty, the United States of America have thought proper to change their government and to institute a new one, agreeable to the Constitution, of which I have the honor of, herewith, enclosing a copy. The time necessarily employed in the arduous task, and the derangements occasioned by so great, though peaceable a revolution, will apologize, and account for your Majesty's not having received those regular advices and marks of attention from the United States which the friendship and magnanimity of your conduct toward them afforded reason to expect.

The United States, having unanimously appointed me to the supreme executive authority in this Nation, your Majesty's letter of the 17th August, 1788, which by reason of the dissolution of the late government, remained unanswered, has been delivered to me. I have also received the letters which your Imperial Majesty has been so kind as to write, in favor of the United States, to the Basbaws of Tunis and Tripoli, and I present to you the sincere acknowledgements and thanks of the United States for this important mark of your friendship for them.

We greatly regret that the hostile disposition of those regencies toward this nation, who have never injured them, is not to be removed, on terms in our power to comply with. Within our territories there are no mines, either of gold or silver, and this young nation, just recovering from the waste and desolation of a long war, have not, as yet, had time to acquire riches by agriculture and commerce. But our soil is bountiful, and our people industrious, and we have reason to flatter ourselves that we shall gradually become useful to our friends.

The encouragement which your Majesty has been pleased, generously, to give to our commerce with your dominions, the punctuality with which you have caused the Treaty with us to be observed, and the just and generous measures taken in the case of Captain Proctor, make a deep impression on the United States and confirm their respect for, and attachment to your Imperial Majesty.

It gives me pleasure to have this opportunity of assuring your Majesty that, while I remain at the head of this nation, I shall not cease to promote every measure that may conduce to the friendship and harmony which so happily subsist between your Empire and them, and shall esteem myself happy in every occasion of convincing your Majesty of the high sense (which in common with the whole Nation) I entertain of the magnanimity, wisdom and benevolence of your Majesty. In the course of the approaching winter, the national legislature, which is called by the former name of Congress, will assemble, and I shall take care that nothing be omitted that may be necessary to cause the correspondence between our countries to be maintained and conducted in a manner agreeable to your Majesty and giving satisfaction to all the parties concerned in it.

May the Almighty bless your Imperial Majesty, our Great and Magnanimous friend, with His constant guidance and protection.

(signed)

George Washington

Letter from George Washington to the ninth ruler of the Moroccan Hassanian Dynasty, the great-great-great-great grandfather of the of the present legitimate Sultan.

